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104 *Aná-* (used only in G [B and/or A.—Ed.] branch of Ô dialect) or *an-aná-*, when used by the parents: son, daughter, child.

601 *Anánă-*, when used by the parents: sons, daughters, children.

192 *Anánă-*, when used by other persons: children up to the age of puberty.

Abbí-: very small babe.

Abbág: child. A term used contemptuously by older people.

Maxabilin: to watch the baby.

Magtaddáy: to try to stand without support, to learn how to walk. Said of little children.

Magkalúsig: to weep, to cry, when father or mother goes away. Said of little children.

Manańgósi: to carry a child on the nape of one's neck, keeping the little one in a sitting position, its legs dangling in front, one on either side. An Isneg father often carries his baby that way, provided the latter has already attained a certain age.

Pońanán: to give to eat, to feed (human beings). To feed animals is *pakkanán*. Both from the stem *kăn* and the suffix *an*; only prefix differs: *pań* (the *k* of the stem being eliminated) in the first case, *pa* (the *k* of the stem being reduplicated) in the second.

C. NAMES AND NAMING

553 Now we come to the giving of a name. It goes without saying that
551 among the Isneg, like among most primitive peoples, there is no question of a family name. Every man and woman, every body and girl, has his or her own personal name, and that is all. But what's in a name? To an Isneg the name of a person in a way stands for that person's own self; to call his name is to call the person in question.

And so when a child is repeatedly ill, which means "pestered by the spirits", the best way to cure it is to change its name, or, to use the Isneg expression, "to shift its name (*ialit yo ńáxanna*)". Let the spirits amuse themselves with the old name, the child as it was formerly; as it is at present, with its new name, its new personality, the spirits will have to leave it in peace: they have been fooled once more by the cleverness of poor mortals, they will pester an old name, a lost personality, and use their evil influence in vain; the new child, the child with the new name, will escape unscathed.

551 Again, do not pronounce the name of a dead person, an Isneg
769 "takes pity on him (*alakkán*)"; leave him in peace where he is, do

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not bother him, do not bring him in your midst, he is all right where he is. Pronouncing his name or bringing him into your presence is one and the same thing after all, therefore do not pronounce his name, at least if you are related to him, you at least should "pity him". Never mind if a stranger pronounces his name, he has no business with that dead person and does not care. But you, his relative, leave him at rest.

Of course, in all this only the words inclosed within quotation marks are Isneg explanations, the rest are mine; but I think I have not been far from the truth in my endeavors to show what was going on in the mind of the Isneg. Besides, the above are only two out of many examples that serve to prove the importance of a name and its meaning to an Isneg. In the following paragraphs many confirmations will be found of the same,—for instance, the preference given to names of people renowned for their bravery or old age, and so on.

Now, when is a child given its name? By whom? And what kind of a name is given?

These questions might be answered briefly and truly like this:

When? Immediately after birth.

By whom? By anybody around.

What name? Any name that sounds all right.

But such answers look very unsatisfactory. Let us give a few explanations.

The child is given its name immediately after birth. The reason, as given by the Isneg themselves, is lest some spirit take it upon himself to give it a name. And then? Well, I think the Isneg do not reason any further; maybe they know no case in which an *anito* gave a child its name, and so what could they answer? But I think that from his own point of view the Isneg is quite right after all, although perhaps actually unaware of it. Indeed if a child were given its name by a spirit, would it not be given its personality or something very much akin to it by that same spirit? And in such a case would the spirit not have all power upon that child? And who ever heard of a spirit doing good to a mortal being, except under compulsion, through some magical performance or other stratagem? And so the Isneg do not take any chances: they give their babe its name and claim it as their own as soon as possible, to the exclusion of all malevolent *anito*.

Anybody is allowed to propose a name for the child, and, if it proves acceptable, the baby will be known by that name from now on,

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with the affairs of the living. Now in this case the Isneg deem it very probable that the dead parent will continue to be fond of his child, and perhaps try to approach it and fondle it, as he was wont to do before his death; but this must inevitably be exceedingly detrimental to the well-being of the little one, so the best way to prevent all such dangerous trifling is to change the name of the infant in question, in order to force the soul of the dead parent to forget all about his offspring. He will be looking for the babe under its old name, but here the living will have got the better of him: the new name, the new personality of the little one, will completely baffle the all-too-fond parent, and the living will be rid of the annoying interference of the dead. *Béno maligpandn nâyá kadudwâna ya ńâxan nâyá ababbiá*, "So that his soul forget the name of the child": this was the reason for the custom given me by the Isneg themselves. What would be the use of making the dead forget the name of the child if "name" was not more or less synonymous with "personality"? 551 768

Formerly a stranger travelling in Apayaw must forcibly have been struck by the reluctance of the Isneg to tell his name. I say "formerly", as nowadays the Isneg has been obliged to tell his name on so many different occasions, for instance at school, in the judgment hall, and so on, that this reluctance is fast disappearing. However, it is still to be found in many remote corners, and more especially with grown-up and old men and women: when you ask their name they invariably tell some companion to answer you in their stead. Just exactly what is the reason of this I have not yet been able to ascertain; when questioned about it, the Isneg either deny the custom altogether, if they are not very familiar with you, or else say that they are ignorant of the reason of its existence. 551 177

The same reticence takes place with reference to the names of the dead: this has been touched upon before, and the reason, as explained by the Isneg, has been given at the same time. The prohibition of telling the name of a dead person does not last indefinitely, nor does it equally affect all persons. When some time has elapsed since the death of a certain Isneg whose name you would like to know, your informant will usually say: "*Natâyyin* (he is dead already)", with a look of wonder on his face, as if to say: "What is the use of wanting to know his name, he is dead already, he has lost his name together with his life"; but if you insist, he will give it seemingly without difficulty. So also unrelated persons are much less reluctant than near relatives, when there is question of telling the name of the dead. Be- 551 769

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551 sides, I have experienced that old men and women usually give the
• 769 name very readily, although they be related to the person in question. That such a prohibition does not last indefinitely, even with the relatives of the deceased, is corroborated by the fact that the names of persons who were renowned for one reason or another during their lifetime, are often preferred when there is question of giving a little babe its first name: and it is far from unusual to encounter an Isneg youngster called after one of his own ancestors.

551 Then there are the names of the father-in-law and of the mother-in-
606 law (*katnzáñan*), which may never be pronounced under any pretext.
553 Up to this day very few Isneg, even among those who have been in contact with civilization for a long time, are bold enough to discard all fear on the subject and to pronounce them. This is especially apparent at the baptism of a child, when we record the names of its parents and grandparents: it very often happens that only one of the parents accompanies the baby that has to be christened, and this is a source of many difficulties, if there is no other person at hand who is acquainted with the names of the parents of the absent party. In case one of the persons whose names have to be recorded is dead, one can get at his name after comparatively little urging, but the name of a father-in-law or a mother-in-law, that never.

551 And why? The Isneg mostly do not know or pretend not to know
606 the reason: sometimes they say that, if they pronounce any of these names, their children will die, but such an answer is always accompanied by the term *kanó*, "it is said". But why should their children die? The whole question is probably shrouded in mystery even to the Isneg themselves; but one thing is certain: an almost insurmountable fear must have been instilled into them from time immemorial, while the real reason, the death penalty inflicted on the offspring of the offender, a penalty inflicted by *unito* of course, if this is the real reason, may have been forgotten either entirely or almost so by the majority of the natives. This fear must have been exceedingly great indeed in order to have the custom remain so persistently and so universally, even after the real explanation has been lost sight of. And that the Isneg have forgotten it, I am rather inclined to believe; I have been able to enter deeply into many matters much more delicate than the one in question, and although this has been done sometimes with no little difficulty, I usually have obtained what I wanted, but here the interrogation mark has so far remained as it was. Or is this a matter much more delicate in the eyes of the Isneg than

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Some tobacco, or some of the ingredients used in the chewing of betel nut (betel nut, leaves of the betel pepper, and lime), according to the former habits of the deceased. 764

To these may be added:

A bottle of *básí;*

One or more spears;

One or more shields;

Some coins;

Some favorite musical instrument of the deceased; etc.

One of the following objects is also usually present, and, in the case of a rich man, all of them:

A *saxabán* (string of beads worn around the head);

A string of beads (worn around the neck);

A *xúsi* jar containing some *básí* (in which case there is no bottle of *básí*).

Everything is placed inside the coffin, the *xúsi* excepted, which is buried in the hole especially dug for it. 764

These objects, even though some of them are very precious in the eyes of the Isneg, are never interfered with; they always remain where they are. The desecration of a grave by robbers or other malefactors is something unknown in Apayaw. 769 685

Sometimes it happens that an ill-intentioned person (never one of the relatives), probably moved by a desire for revenge, when unobserved, stealthily places some herbs in the coffin, alongside the body. He does this with the purpose of forcing the body to leave its abode at night in the shape of a *balańóbáń*, and to roam around playing havoc among the chickens of the neighbors. 764 754 775

Before the body is placed in the grave, the bottom of the latter is strewn with ashes, obtained by burning an *anańá*, which is a kind of raincoat made of palm leaves. This ceremony is supposed to serve a double purpose: the raincoat will render good service to the deceased in the other world, and the ashes will prevent the dead body, either from leaving its grave in the shape of a *balańóbáń* or ghost, or at least from frightening the neighbors.

Lest the *balańóbáń* scare the relatives of the deceased or the women of the neighborhood who daily repair to their work, the Isneg usually put some *takkág* vines inside the coffin, alongside the body. The *takkág* is a schizaeaceous fern (Lygodium sp.), which differs from 764 824

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765 527 769

The next day a general rest (*nilin*) is proclaimed all through the settlement, and after that, except for those who practised *mañgabi* and usually abstain from corn, yams and sweet potatoes for a month or so, and except for those who insist on continuing to *magló*, everybody again leads his customary easy-going life, just as if nothing had happened, while the grave is forgotten together with its occupant, and the temporary hut is not cared for any more. This hut falls down and its materials decay within a comparatively short time.

Do not jump over a child. If you do, his growth will be retarded. 784

At first glance one might think that life in Apayao is greatly restricted by the necessity of placating all the *anitos* and of observing the many auguries, omens, and prohibitions. But, after being around some, I cannot help getting the impression somehow, that all this is partly just the men's sly way to getting out of a lot of hard work and disagreeable duties. At least, the placating of the *anitos* gives them the occasion for many very pleasant social times. 771 784 787 782 781

BURIAL

When death comes, the Apayaos, unlike the Christians, do not dread it as being the end of life on this earth; for the spirit *cadudorosa*, continues to exist somewhere and enjoy many of their physical pleasures without the discomforts. The people respect these spirits and go to great pains to see that they are made happy, both during the funeral ceremony and also during the following years. At all the feasts a portion of the best food and *basi* is placed on a plate, which is then set near the stove where the immediate supply of rice is kept. The people want to keep the spirits of their ancestors happy and contented for, if one should become discontented, he will select a person in the house to keep him company. The person then becomes sick and will die if a feast is not held to make that spirt happy and contented again. 761 775 769 [753]

When a person dies, all the relatives immediately gather in his house and hold a *callas* in his memory. 764

in the ordinary ground until it comes to a wide river which it cannot cross alone. 304 775

However, at the river the *cadudorsa* meets a ferryman whose name is Kutao. Before taking the *cadudorsa* across, Kutao must first inspect it to see if its appearance is right. He looks on the backs of the hands of the *cadudorsa* to see if they are tattooed with the boat pattern. If they are, Kutao ferries the *cadudorsa across.* If the hands are not tattooed, Kuta cuts them off before taking the *cadudorsa* across the river.

Upon arriving at the place, each *cadudorsa* becomes young and handsome again and changes so that all of the people in that place are similar in appearance. 775

The place of the *cadudorsa* is a wonderful country, with the same kind of plants and animals as on the earth; but everything is perfectly lovely. Life there is much as on earth; but everybody is happy because there is no pain, nor sorrow, nor work.

The ruler of the place is Ewagan fourth son of Hatan. He creates food for the people and takes care of all their needs so that they have no work and responsibilities, living in continuous leisure. [776]

Thus life in the Future is one continuous party. Also a *cadudorsa* is sometimes invited by his relatives to attend a *sayam* in his old home on earth. 769 776